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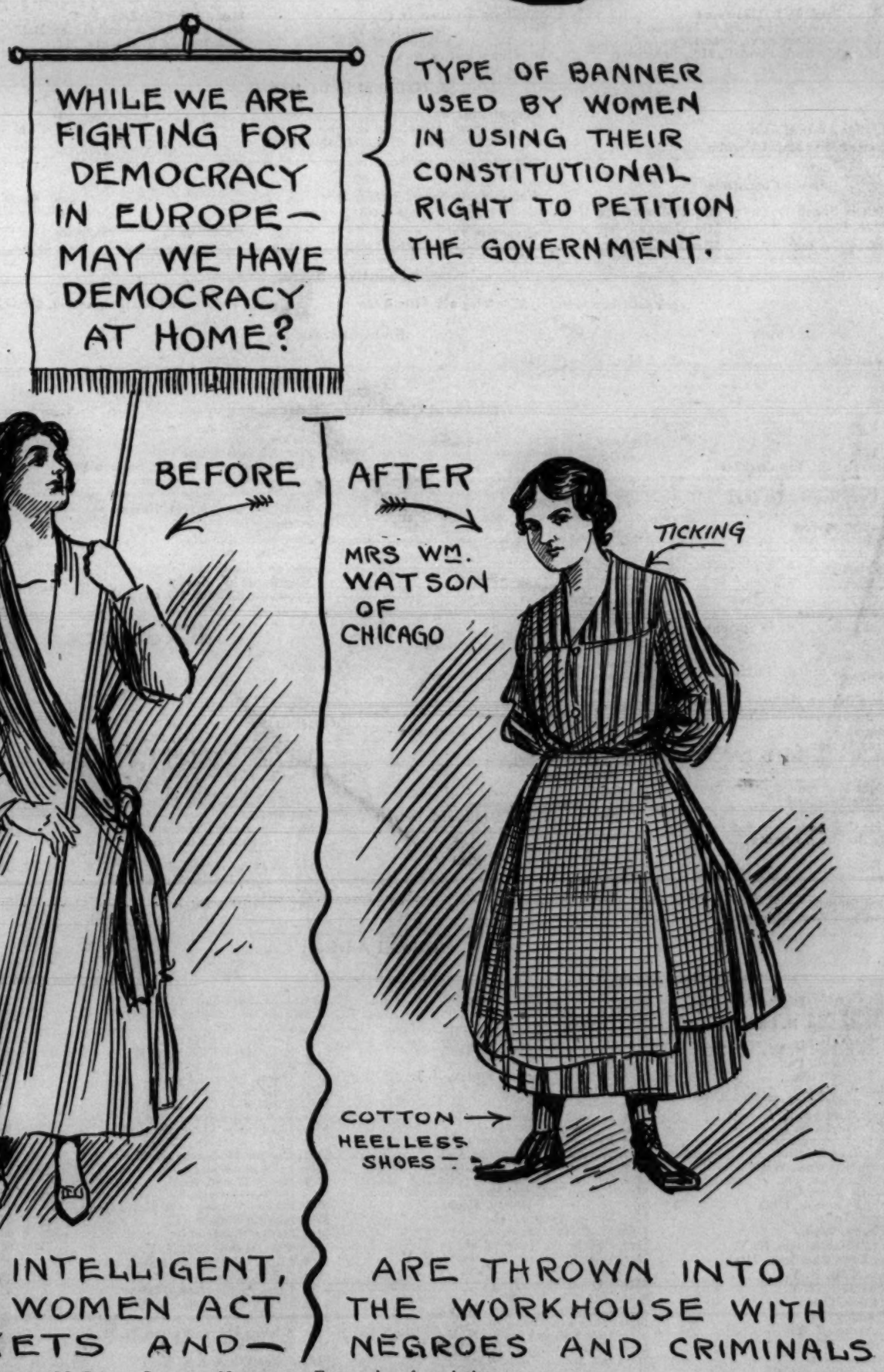
The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1917


WHILE WE ARE FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE— MAY WE HAVE DEMOCRACY AT HOME?
TYPE OF BANNER USED BY WOMEN IN USING THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO PETITION THE GOVERNMENT.
BEFORE
AFTER
MRS WM. WATSON OF CHICAGO
TICKING
COTTON HEELLESS SHOES
REFINED, INTELLIGENT, SOCIETY WOMEN ACT AS PICKETS AND—
ARE THROWN INTO THE WORKHOUSE WITH NEGROES AND CRIMINALS

Drawn by Representative John M. Baer. Courtesy Newspaper Enterprise Association

Congressman Baer as a Cartoonist Protests Against Occoquan

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP. Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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Notes of the Week

Maine Defeat Means Federal Victory

BY the latest available results in Maine, the count on the referendum on woman suffrage stands almost two to one against the extension of suffrage to women. The defeat in Maine has worked one beneficial result, in spite of the waste of time, energy and money: it is probably the last Maine referendum. The older as well as the younger leaders admit this. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, head of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, announced that all the suffrage forces of the nation will at an early date—probably following the New York referendum—be concentrated in Washington for a drive for the federal amendment.

"The federal suffrage amendment will surely pass, and soon," said Mrs. Catt. "The effect of every State repudiation of the suffrage cause, now in the national platform of all political parties, can but serve to focus the efforts of the National Suffrage Association anew upon the federal route to the suffrage goal."

Mrs. Catt was the speaker at the final mass meeting of the campaign; she has been co-operating throughout the Maine fight with Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingstone, the State chairman of the Maine campaign.

The President Would Fight for Democracy

PRESIDENT WILSON has just sent a message to the drafted men going over-seas to fight for democracy, that must fill with amazement the thousands of women in this country who have given their sons for this vast crusade for liberty while they must still go on obscurely battling for democracy in this country.

Mr. Wilson has the temerity to ask Mayor Mitchel to give his message to these young men: "Tell them I follow them across the sea . . . with genuine envy, for I should like to be with them on the field and in the trenches where the real and final battle for the independence of the United States is to be fought. . . . "

There are women now serving a sentence of prison labor in a Government workhouse whose sons have enlisted for service in Europe. Those sons will leave behind in prison women whose crime was that in a boasted democracy they dared to petition the President for liberty. A future generation is likely to look with amazement on the War Libertarian in the White House.

A Negro National Political Party

A SIGNIFICANT event of this week is the formation of a negro political party. At Atlantic City, New Jersey, more than four hundred negro clergymen and professional men, the thinking representatives of the race, met to form the National Civil and Political Party of America. Events of the past few weeks in widely separated parts of the nation have brought home to negroes how unprotected they are, dependent on justice from above. A negro political party ably organized could possibly change the political complexion in many sections of the country. Sagacious political leaders have learned from first-hand experience with the National Woman's Party the menace of a minority party which may swing the balance of power in a closely contested election. New respect will be accorded a race politically able to protect itself. It was the political organization of women for suffrage that forced that long-delayed question into the arena of living issues in all political camps.

The President Plays Safe in Maine

"THE last New York campaign" will probably feature the President of the United States and members of his Cabinet on State suffrage platforms. The President has just sent a safe message to the suffragists of Maine whose referendum battle this week ended in defeat at the polls. Mr. Wilson was pleased to express his "very great interest" in the State campaign and added that he would like to have "the privilege of urging all Democrats to support a cause in which we all believe." Mr. Wilson knew, astute politician that he is, that Maine Democrats would not be deceived and knew quite well that he was going out of his way to urge upon them "a cause in which we all believe," when he could in less than an hour take the forthright step that would enfranchise the women of the whole nation.

As long as the President refuses to recommend to Congress the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, as long as the President affects ignorance or unconcern of the fact that fifty suffragists have been sentenced to jail by his appointees for petitioning him for freedom, his left-handed aid in Maine and New York must be resented by the thinking suffragists of the nation.

Roosevelt on Democracy

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in the opening address of the New York State suffrage campaign went on record in a forceful speech for suffrage as a war measure. Mr. Roosevelt pointed out that a real democracy must not only suffer no injustice, but do no injustice: "During the last three years we have been in the habit of thinking about just what 'democracy' means and I believe that as we grow wiser we will steadily come to the belief that on the one hand we must in a democracy suffer no injustice, and, on the other hand, we must do no injustice.

"One of the curious things of this war is that it has brought much nearer the day in every country participating in it and every country adjacent to the participating countries when women will be given political rights just as men are given them, because it has been proved by the actual event that in this, the greatest and most terrible war of history, the war in which the greatest demands have been made, the whole woman force of each country has had to be put squarely behind the whole man force of that country."

Supreme Court to Rule on Child Labor Bill

THE Keating-Owen Child Labor Bill has been held unconstitutional by Federal Judge Boyd of the Western District of North Carolina, after three days' argument on the subject. The question is now before the Supreme Court of the United States. Except in the North Carolina district the law is in force this month. Judge Boyd's decision was based on his interpretation of the constitutional limitation of congressional power, which, in the child labor law, used the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate conditions within the State.

The enforcement of the law has been delegated by the Secretary of Labor to the Children's Bureau. The head of the new child labor division of that bureau is Miss Grace Abbott, of Chicago, a woman of wide experience in industrial betterment work in this and foreign countries.

At every stage the initiation of the fight against child labor in this country has been made by women, handicapped by the fact that they are without political voice in their own Government.

The New Republic and the Old

WHILE women in this democracy are denied the right to petition the President, are sent to prison, the first political convicts in America, for daring to make a protest for liberty, the liberated nations of the Old World are marching ahead towards the goal of complete democracy. The young Russian republic has just appointed a woman to the cabinet, Countess Panin, at one time assistant minister of social tutelage, now secretary of state for public instruction.

Under the new provisional government both women as well as men are eligible as magistrates and judges in the local courts, which now appoint two additional assistant magistrates or judges for each court to deal with cases jointly. One or both of these may be women.

The Congresswomen of Finland

IN the lately elected Finnish Diet, corresponding to our Congress, of the two hundred members seventeen are women who have been placed on all the important committees and are working for such reforms as social insurance, the feeding of school children, wage adjustments for women now engaged in public work, and protective legislation for shop employes. Nothing better illustrates the direct results of the entry of women into citizenship than the advance of the women of Finland.

Prisoners of Freedom Released

The Released Suffrage Prisoners Return to the National Woman's Party Headquarters

THE first six political prisoners who ever served a term in a Government prison were released from the Occoquan, Virginia, Government workhouse September 11, after serving thirty days, with "five days off for good behavior." These prisoners were the six suffrage pickets sentenced August 18 in the National Capital for carrying suffrage flags to the White House, petitioning the President for liberty.

Eyes were turned on that unknown whitewashed Government reformatory for criminals from many parts of the country when the suffrage prisoners' release was announced. A dinner and reception was tendered the intrepid little group at the headquarters of the National Woman's Party in Washington, D. C., and men and women from many Eastern and Western States met together, not only to honor these women, but to voice the thought they brought from prison: that the fight for democracy must go on.

The prisoners honored were Miss Lavinia Dock of Pennsylvania, nearly seventy years old, a worker with Clara Barton, and author of authoritative works on nursing and dietetics; Miss Natalie Gray of Colorado; Miss Katharine Flannagan of Connecticut; Miss Lucy Ewing and Mrs. William Upton Watson of Illinois; and Miss Edna Dixon of Washington, D. C.

In the drawing rooms of Cameron House, gay with the suffrage flags that it is a police misdemeanor to carry on the streets of the National Capital, there was an exultant air; yet there was a singular absence of reminiscence, of dwelling on those gray days of work in the Government prison to which the Administration is sending liberty-loving women.

Outsiders knew that the brave little band had, through their protest, made prison conditions more livable in that place for all women; they knew the petty tyrannies inflicted on high-minded women there. But the prisoners themselves, paler, more worn, but with a new light in their eyes, refused to speak of those things. They refused to look upon themselves as martyrs. Their pride was that they left eleven more women in prison to continue the protest.

IT was a brilliant meeting. A new and stirring suffrage song, "Come Forth, Ye Women of the Land," with words and music by Miss Eliza Tonks, of Washington, D. C., was inspiringly sung for the first time. Representative John M. Baer, of North Dakota, the lone independent Congressman who made a fight for an investigation of the shameful treatment of suffragists in the Capital, only to have his resolution of protest buried in committee, spoke on the struggle democracy must continue to make at this time, and gloried in the fact that suffragists were pointing the way.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont paid tribute to the resolution of the National Woman's Party at this time, and the stupidity of the Administration: "An Administration that could be stupid and vicious enough to meet this appeal by such mediaeval methods, proves that it is hostile to the liberal movements of the world and that it is trying to smother the needs of democracy at home. Such an Administration, if it does not cease its cowardly persecutions, should be shorn of power in the next congressional election," she said.

Sara Bard Field, of California, paid eloquent tribute to the Woman's Party, as the lonely group dauntless enough at this time to keep their flag flying. She mentioned as a sign of hope to women the fact that Dudley Field Malone, a devoted Administration servant, had protested for women against injustice at this time with his resignation from office. A telegram of appreciation and congratulation was sent Mr. Malone from the meeting.

But of the group of speakers that stood under the brilliant tricolor of the Woman's Party, it was the group of released suffrage pickets who made the abiding and touching impression on that tense audience. Young in years, but for that veteran feminist, Lavinia Dock, there was not one who had not brought from the Government workhouse a larger impression of the liberty the women of this nation are now fighting for.

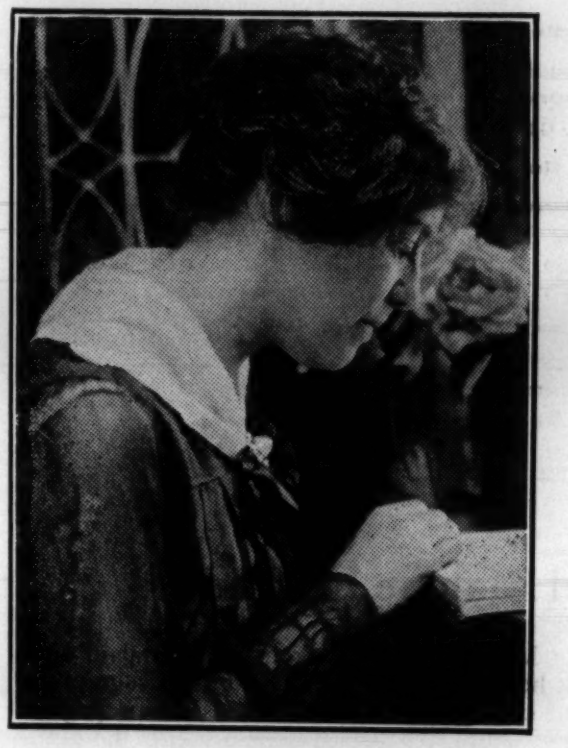
"WHEN I came here from Chicago," said Mrs. Watson, "they were asking our men to enlist for freedom abroad. I came here to Washington to fight for democracy in the United States—in the first trench, at the White House. There was plenty of action. My banners were torn and broken; my clothes were torn; I was kicked and knocked down—by those soldiers and sailors who are to go abroad to fight for democracy. I am proud of serving time at Occoquan. I am going back to tell our story. I, too, am going to hustle for recruits. I want to tell you all that the women of Illinois will send their full quota for our fight for that democracy, that 'lies nearest our hearts, the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.'"

"The women of the West, of Colorado," said Natalie Gray, "were first really aroused by the shock of that first prison sentence. When the call for new recruits for the picket line came, my mother wanted to come. She had no sons old enough for our other battle for democracy. She decided to send me to fight for democracy here at home in front of the White House. I represent the protest of not only my mother, but of all the other women of my State who believe in liberty."

Edna Dixon, a charming young school teacher, declared that the freedom that the suffrage prisoners had walked into from out the workhouse that day was "like walking on velvet, and gave one an idea of the exhileration to come when the women of the nation escaped from their political prisons." She recalled the President's statistics of the Revolution: "There were three million souls in our Union at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. There are now one hundred and three millions. The three millions at least have heard of us, of the battle of the women of today; I think we can get the ear of the other hundred millions if we can keep our lines full in front of the White House gates until our certain victory!"

They Who Sit in Jail

By Sara Bard Field



Sara Bard Field

THE case of the Women of the United States against the Democratic Administration of the Government of the United States under the rule of Wilson. Again and again this case has been called in the police court of the District of Columbia, though that is not the way it is written on the court records. Sometimes there have been only three women on trial, sometimes as many as sixteen. But always it was the case of the women of the whole country that these few or many represented. And never has this fact been lost sight of: that it was the whole Administration who were really prosecuting the case.

It was not Doris Stevens or Mrs. John Winters Brannan or Natalie Gray who were railroaded through the ridiculous farces of trials straight to Occoquan. It was the millions of women in this country, east and west, north and south, whether eager, indifferent, or openly antagonistic to suffrage and to militant methods for suffrage. The sorrow of it, for many of us who have not been able to go, and the shame of it for those who would not have gone if they could or who condemn those who have gone, is that, as always, the few must suffer for the many.

Of the lonely figure on Calvary it was said "He was bruised for our iniquities." And for these fifty women who have gone to the wretchedness of Occoquan workhouse it can likewise be said, "the chastisement of our liberty is on them and by their stripes we are freed."

Eighty-seven women arrested for merely taking their constitutional right to ask for liberty! Fifty of these eighty-seven imprisoned! When I think of the broad democratic program for extending democracy in this land that the eloquent upholders of the Administration in those campaign days last fall promised would be put into effect, and behold that it has since become a crime punishable by sixty days in jail even to ask for liberty, I wonder whether the Administration lacks humor or has lost its memory.

Bertram Russell in his "Justice in War-time" finds that the morale of a country changes when it goes out to fight. Much more than the morale changes. Reason takes flight and emotions are suddenly swerved from their course and directed away from the righteous goal toward which they formerly flowed. Old gods are torn down and new ones with ugly faces are set up. Impossible meanings are given to the old familiar phrases of "democracy," "liberty," "equality," "free speech." In the name of "liberty" women are sent to jail for asking for liberty. In the name of democracy, fifty women are imprisoned for trying to extend democracy. In the name of "free speech" women are knocked down by sailors for freely quoting the President.

THE National Woman's Party alone in all this land has dared to make public this intolerable discrepancy between words and their meanings. It alone has insisted that we remove the beam in our own national eye before we go out to pluck the mote from European eyes.

When Mr. Wilson plunged into a war for democracy abroad and left infant democracy in this land to well nigh perish, it was the National Woman's Party which held before his remembrance phrases from his "New Freedom" and his eloquent pre-election speeches. When the Administration felt itself worthy to help fan the white and holy flame of Russia's revolution, it was the National Woman's Party which dared to blaze to the whole world that the United States could not speak to the new Russia as a democracy to a democracy while it held twenty million women in political bondage. And when the President, having taken such power into his hands as never a President before in all our history has taken, it was the National Woman's Party which dared, midst all the mobbish and sycophantic surge about him, to tell the world that he was an autocrat refusing liberty to his minions.

Many sorts of banners have been carried by these soldiers of liberty—our pickets. Sometimes they have been only the wordless eloquence of our colors—purple, white and gold. Sometimes they have borne extracts from the President's speeches and writings. Sometimes they have flaunted the deathless words of the French Revolution. Sometimes they have sent a message to Russia through the White House gates. But all of them have worked together for suffrage. All of them have forced upon a forgetful Administration its promises and its boasts.

THE President and the Administration claimed Pure Democracy as their only begotten son. When we entered the war and the Administration became busy in Europe, the National Woman's Party found Pure Democracy perishing on the doorsteps of the Capitol. They took him under their wing. They nourished and cherished him. They went out to tell the country that democracy needed attention at home. Day after day they asked that the mothers who were giving their sons for democracy abroad, be themselves given it at home. And for this nurture of internal democracy they have been arrested, eighty-seven of them, and for this imprisoned, fifty strong.

O, the irony of it, and the grim, tragic humor! I hope that the reincarnation theory is right and that I may have the privilege of returning a few centuries hence in the form of a Buckle or a Draper. Perhaps then I might do justice to the inconsistency of it all and the flagrant denial of the campaign claims of the Administration. But I cannot be historically impersonal or humorously casual about it all now. Fifty of my comrades have been to jail and seventeen of them are there as I write. Western women who have the vote have gone and Eastern women who haven't it. And they have slept with diseased prostitutes and eaten wormy bread and tainted meat to make the women of this land free. I tell you again, it is the case of all women of the United States against the Democratic Administration of this land and especially against that one man who wants to be known to history as a great Libertarian and has utterly failed to use his liberating power for his own countrywomen.

I could not go to jail when the sentences imposed grew so long, because my life is not my own and there were those dependent on me who would suffer by my going. This is my own humiliation and sorrow. But I am going out to tell every woman I meet that the answer of the Administration to women asking for liberty has been the jail; that the methods of handling women furthering democracy have approached those used in the time of the Bastile and the Star Chamber. For those women in jail are there for me. They are there for you. How long are you going to sit in jail in the persons of these brave pickets? What are you going to do about it?

The Suffragist

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THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Dudley Field Malone Resigns

THE resignation of Dudley Field Malone this week from a highly paid office under the Administration, that he might keep the campaign suffrage promises he made for the President of the United States, turns a new page in suffrage history. While in the eyes of politicians Mr. Malone presents the figure of a quixotic zealot setting out to tilt at political wind-mills, to the thinking men and women of the nation this act of rebellion on the part of a tried and devoted Administration servant has an ominous significance. It has unerringly put a finger on the weak spot of the Administration.

The weak spot in the Administration of President Wilson has been his lack of faith in democracy. By refusing his support to the federal suffrage amendment; by denying even the right of petition to suffragists; by sanctioning their arrests and excessive sentences in a Government workhouse, Mr. Wilson has put himself in a position untenable in a world at war for "democracy." Sending men abroad to die for "democracy" while he imprisoned the mothers, the sisters, who held high the banners for democracy at home, has focussed many eyes on that weak spot.

Then Mr. Malone did that most amazing and uncomfortable thing: In the President's own phrase he translated the President's own campaign promises into action. He did that thing unknown in generations of men advocating woman suffrage—made a personal sacrifice for woman suffrage. He stands this week the first distinguished man to fight for women with anything weightier than the President's own pliable weapon—sounding words. He has reproached the President in the only vital way: by refusing longer to associate himself with the Administration and its policies.

It was Mr. Malone himself who carried the President's suffrage promises to the women of California. It was in California that he first realized the fire and devotion women were pouring anew into the long struggle for the liberty of American women. It was in California that he first learned, at the hands of the campaigners of the National Woman's Party, of the half century of subterfuge and neglect that lies at the doors of politicians over the suffrage issue. It was in California that he heard the record of President Wilson on national suffrage, told with a passion of sincerity by a young woman who later gave her life for the cause of women. It was in California that Dudley Field Malone promised he would win his party to the support of the federal suffrage amendment.

Following the victory of President Wilson by the narrow California margin, Mr. Malone did for suffrage what men have been doing for suffrage these many years: He spoke for it at every opportunity—and politicians smiled at this far-sighted amiability on the part of a rising Administration figure.

Mr. Malone first realized that women were going to prison for suffrage, for the right of the voteless to petition with banners, when he saw women arrested on the streets of the National Capital. First aroused as a lawyer by the illegality of the proceeding, he was next fired as only the young, the live, the generous, can be fired, by the devotion of these women, the butt of abuse and ridicule, going to prison to rebuke a careless Administration waging a war for democracy across the sea. Mr. Malone actively re-entered the fight for the enfranchisement of women, finally freeing himself politically at the cost of personal sacrifice.

Dudley Field Malone's resignation indicates the first sign of breakdown within the Administration. It is the first outward sign of doubt and disillusionment within the President's own loyal inner circle concerning the purposes of the world crusade for "liberty."

The Protest of Dudley Field Malone

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, Collector of Customs for the Port of New York, for many years a close friend and supporter of President Wilson, tendered his resignation from office to the President, September 7, giving as grounds in his letter to Mr. Wilson, printed in full below, the failure of the Administration to keep its campaign suffrage promises, and, specifically, the Administration's imprisonment of women in a Government workhouse for petitioning the President for liberty. From the time when, nearly two months ago, Mr. Malone witnessed the arrest of women for carrying suffrage banners on the streets of the Capital, he has supported and defended the course of the National Woman's Party, and has now officially given up a highly-paid office under the Administration in order that he may freely speak his mind concerning a Government that sends its sons abroad to fight for democracy, while it imprisons its daughters for asking for democracy. Mr. Malone has been Collector of the Port for four years. He was Third Secretary of State under Bryan and Assistant Corporation Counsel of New York City. He campaigned for Mr. Wilson for Governor of New Jersey, and is credited with President Wilson's decisive victory in the last campaign through his California speeches.

New York, N. Y., Sept. 7, 1917.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

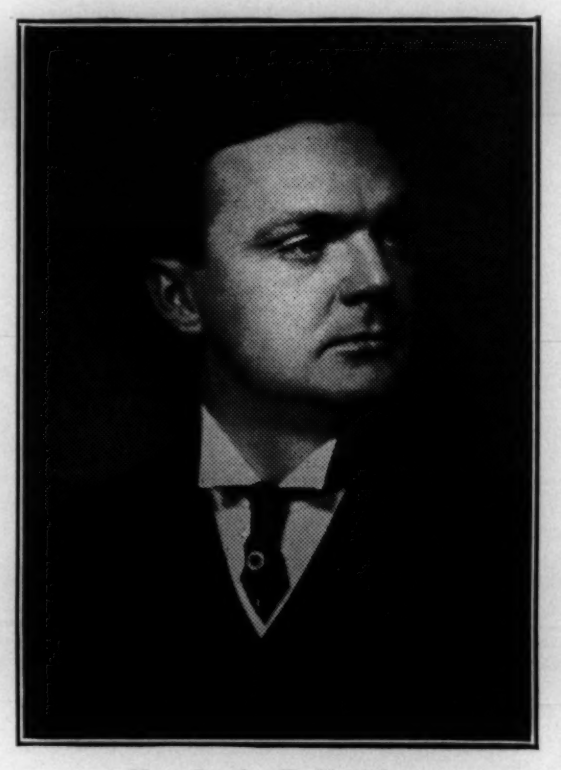
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Last autumn, as the representative of your Administration, I went into the woman suffrage States to urge your re-election. The most difficult argument to meet among the seven million voters was the failure of the Democratic party, throughout four years of power, to pass the federal suffrage amendment looking toward the enfranchisement of all the women of the country. Throughout those States, and particularly in California, which ultimately decided the election by the votes of women, the women voters were urged to support you, even though Judge Hughes had already declared for the federal suffrage amendment, because you and your party, through liberal leadership, were more likely nationally to enfranchise the rest of the women of the country than were your opponents.

And if the women of the West voted to re-elect you, I promised them I would spend all my energy, at any sacrifice to myself, to get the present Democratic Administration to pass the federal suffrage amendment.

But the present policy of the Administration, in permitting splendid American women to be sent to jail in Washington, not for carrying offensive banners, nor for picketing, but on the technical charge of obstructing traffic, is a denial even of their constitutional right to petition for, and demand the passage of, the federal suffrage amendment. It, therefore, now becomes my profound obligation actively to keep my promise to the women of the West.

In more than twenty States it is a practical impossibility to amend the State constitutions; so the women of those States can only be enfranchised by the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. Since England and Russia, in the midst of the great war, have assured the national enfranchisement of their women, should we not be jealous to maintain our democratic leadership in the world by the speedy national enfranchisement of American women?

To me, Mr. President, as I urged upon you in Washington two months ago, this is not only a measure of justice and democracy, it is also an urgent war measure. The women of the nation are, and always will be, loyal to the country, and the passage of the suffrage amendment is only the first step toward their national emancipation. But



Hon. Dudley Field Malone

unless the Government takes at least this first step toward their enfranchisement, how can the Government ask millions of American women, educated in our schools and colleges, and millions of American women in our homes, or toiling for economic independence in every line of industry, to give up by conscription their men and happiness to a war for democracy in Europe while these women citizens are denied the right to vote on the policies of the Government which demands of them such sacrifice?

FOR this reason many of your most ardent friends and supporters feel that the passage of the federal suffrage amendment is a war measure which could appropriately be urged by you at this session of Congress. It is true that this amendment would have to come from Congress, but the present Congress shows no earnest desire to enact this legislation for the simple reason that you, as the leader of the party in power, have not yet suggested it.

For the whole country gladly acknowledges, Mr. President, that no vital piece of legislation has come through Congress these five years except by your extraordinary and brilliant leadership. And millions of men and women today hope that you will give the federal suffrage amendment to the women of the country by the valor of your leadership now. It will hearten the mothers of the nation, eliminate a just grievance, and turn the devoted energies of brilliant women to a more hearty support of the Government in this crisis.

As you well know, in dozens of speeches in many States I have advocated your policies and the war. I was the first man of your Administration, nearly five years ago, publicly to advocate preparedness, and helped to found the first Plattsburg training camp. And if, with our troops mobilizing in France, you will give American women this measure for their political freedom, they will support with greater enthusiasm your hope and the hope of America for world freedom.

I have not approved all the methods recently adopted by women in the pursuit of their political liberty; yet, Mr. President, the Committee on Suffrage of the United States Senate was formed in 1883, when I was one year old; this same federal suffrage amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1878; brave women like Susan B. Anthony were petitioning Congress for the suffrage before the Civil War, and at the time of the Civil War men like William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greeley, and Wendell Phillips assured the suffrage leaders that if they abandoned their fight for suffrage, when the war was ended the men of the nation "out of gratitude" would enranchise the women of the country.

And if the men of this country had been peacefully demanding for over half a century the political right or privilege to vote, and had been continuously ignored or met with evasion by successive Congresses, as have the women, you, Mr. President, as a lover of liberty, would be the first to comprehend and forgive their inevitable impatience and righteous indignation. Will not this Administration, re-elected to power by the hope and faith of the women of the West, handsomely reward that faith by taking action now for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment?

IN the Port of New York, during the last four years, billions of dollars in the export and import trade of the country have been handled by the men of the customs service; their treatment of the traveling public has radically changed, their vigilance supplied the evidence for the Lusitania note; the neutrality was rigidly maintained; the great German fleet guarded, captured, and repaired; substantial economies and reforms have been concluded, and my ardent industry has been given to this great office of your appointment.

(Concluded on Page 9)

An Open Letter to the President

AS I happened to be in the City of Washington at the time of the recent rioting that took place near the Executive Mansion and was an eye witness of the illegal and indefensible acts performed by mobs composed principally of soldiers and sailors wearing the uniform of the United States, and civil service employes from nearby executive offices, in attacking defenseless women, I, as a plain citizen, desire to acquaint you with some of the things which I saw and heard, and the impressions made upon my mind then, and since gathered from conversations with numbers of my fellow citizens who have not hesitated to express their honest sentiments concerning these things.

On the 14th day of August, in this year of 1917, I was riding on a street car passing the White House grounds when I observed a crowd of people filling the street opposite Cameron House. From the noise and excited action, it was plain that the gathering was a mob of some kind, and I left the car to see what it was about. In the mob were a large percentage of men wearing uniforms of the army, navy and marine corps of the United States. As nearly as I could ascertain, a large proportion of the remainder were clerks from the executive departments of the State, War, Navy, and Treasury Departments nearby, who had just been dismissed from their work, as it was about half past four in the afternoon. I saw a young man climb up the front of the Cameron House and endeavor to pull down certain flags that were there—one of the the Stars and Stripes of our country. I saw that violence was used in many ways directed at the exterior of the building and its occupants within. I saw that the police, who were present in sufficient numbers to have easily dispersed the mob had they been so disposed, did nothing whatever to stop the mob violence, but actually encouraged it by rough-handling anyone who tried to protect the women or in any way sympathized with those who were being attacked without warrant of law.

On this occasion, I saw only a part of the mob performance. But from certain circumstances which came under my personal observation, I came to the conclusion that there were just enough designing persons in this mob to give it direction and positive purpose. Their directive control could have been as plainly observed by any intelligent person in authority as by myself. It was plain enough to cause me to suspect that the real designers would encourage a repetition of these unlawful performances and the presence of the Government employes led me also to suppose that, if there was a repetition, it would take place about the same time on the following day. At the same time, I considered it almost unthinkable that the authorities would permit a recurrence of such disgraceful scenes within the nation's Capital. Yet, notwithstanding my hope and expectation that law and order would be preserved, the impression that I had received in regard to a recurrence was so strong that I went there at the same hour the next day.

Sure enough, the mob assembled and began abusing, choking, striking and dragging through the streets, several of the women who carried flags and banners. Following this second day's scenes of mob violence, I visited the women against whom the actions of the mob had been directed, at their headquarters in Cameron House. Several of them showed wounds and contusions on their arms, necks and heads, as a result of the violence that had been practiced upon them. As before, the mob had been composed principally of persons wearing the uniform of the United States, and clerks from the nearby executive offices of the Government; as before, the activities of the police had been directed in opposition to anyone who tried to protect defenseless women and, as before, there were circumstances which compelled me to conclude that, if someone in authority did not exercise a restraining hand, there would be repetitions of such outrages indefinitely.

On the 16th, at the same hour as before, I went again to the same locality within sight and sound of your official residence. And again the same things occurred. The many violences enacted are common knowledge now, so I shall not recite their sickening details. My purpose was to study the situation in order that I might be able to help, if any fair and sane way appeared, to prevent the continued recurrence of such scenes in the very heart of our country. I came to the conclusion from what I saw, that mob violence was being used as a brutal subterfuge to avoid a fair and square test of the question of the Right of Petition in the form that "picketing" takes.

YOU have certainly read of the fight made in the House of Representatives by one of your illustrious predecessors to preserve to the people that right guaranteed them by the Constitution. John Quincy Adams fought in debate for several days single-handed and alone for the right of even slaves to petition Congress. He won, you remember. The Constitution of the United States either gives to citizens the right to petition the President and Congress for redress of grievances or it does not; these women are either lawfully exercising that supposed right or they are not. The Constitution itself and the laws of the land provide lawful, peaceful and orderly methods of testing these questions. It is not my purpose herein and now, to discuss the question whether the women who are picketing the White House grounds have pursued the best, or even a proper, method of presenting their petition for redress of grievances. Neither do I intend to discuss the righteousness of their cause nor whether they have grievances to redress. It ought to be sufficient for all purposes that they apparently think they have. The courts are fully competent to decide these questions when the facts are brought to their attention and there is no lack of means and opportunity to bring them there. I am simply exercising the privilege as an American citizen of protesting to the authorities against mob rule and the arrest and farcical conviction of citizens upon the false and trumped-up charge of committing offenses such as obstructing the street, which they did not commit, while employes of this Government, including men wearing its uniform, are left to go scot free after the commission of the gravest crimes against decency and the very foundations of democracy itself.

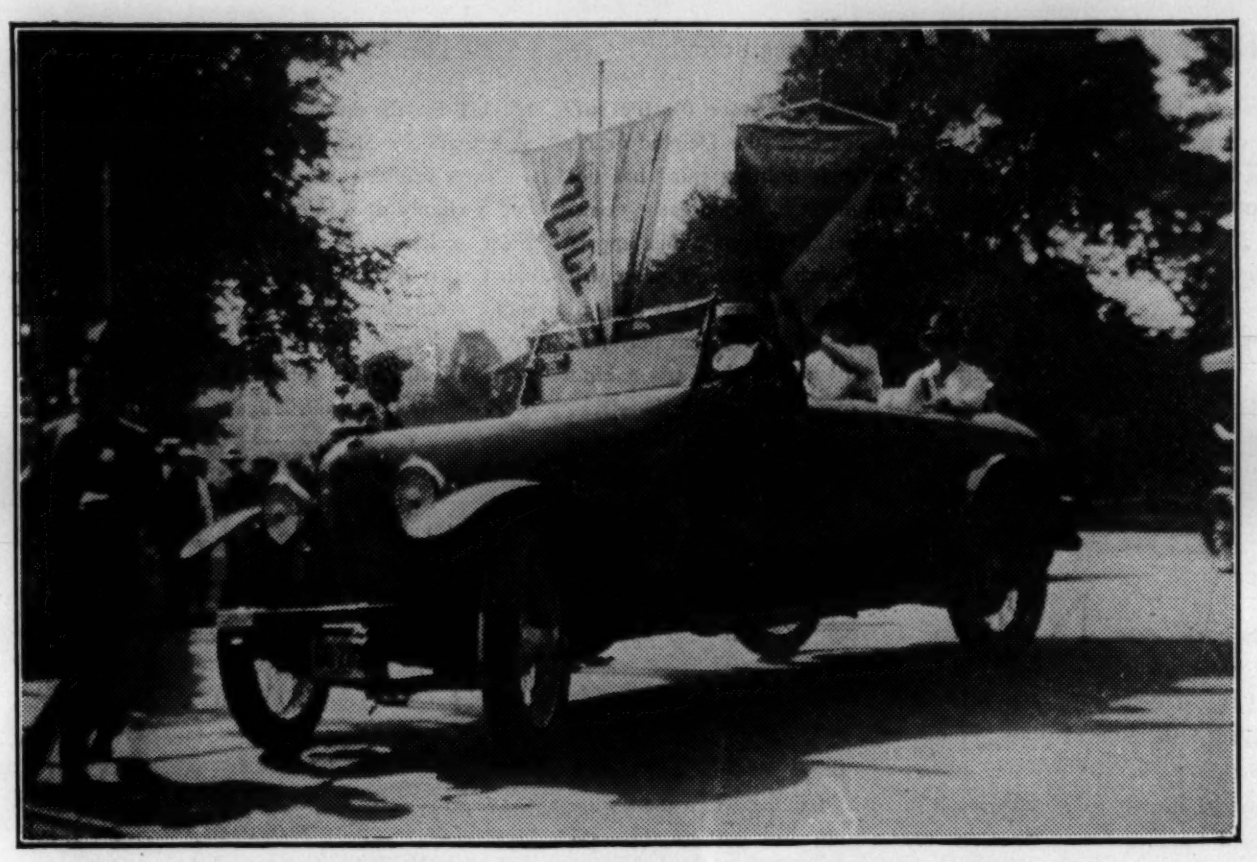
On not one of the three occasions when I was an eye witness of what actually occurred, did the police make an earnest effort to hinder or stop the mob in its violence or to arrest its leaders and instigators. Instead of that, they have arrested the women on what I believe to be a false charge. They never did obstruct the streets and the actual culprits on this charge are those who have been opposing them, even to the extent of exercising mob violence for which there is no warrant or justification in law, whatever. . . .

IT is impossible to see, Mr. President, how you could escape from direct responsibility for these things, even if you desired to do so. I am persuaded that you do not desire escape from such responsibility. In a sense that cannot be compared with any other President, you have assumed an attitude of leadership in this country that approaches the absolute. One word of command from you would have dissipated those mobs, yet they continued for three days in their mad work uninterrupted. Even if you had not assumed the authority which you have, as commander-in-chief, you could have prevented soldiers from disgracing the uniform of the United States and could have brought troops to clear the streets when the police failed to do their duty. It would take little more than a nod from you to induce the authorities of the District and the City to bring such charges against the picketers as would bring their cause and their offense—if they have committed any—to a prompt and effective adjudication. Yet you did not speak that word, you did not exercise that authority and you withheld the nod.

. . . . . .

IN conclusion, allow me as an intense lover and believer in the democracy of Lincoln, Adams and Jefferson and as a plain citizen of the Republic, to beg for justice to the women who are petitioning at your door. They have been misrepresented in the public press and hounded by hoodlums enough. Things have come to such a pass in this country that no one either can or will give them justice but you. If they are violating the law of the land in their manner of presenting their petition may they not, at least, have a fair and impartial trial on charges that will properly present the issues involved before a court of some degree of respectability which will hear and determine those issues in harmony with the great principles of democracy, upon which our Government is founded? (Signed)—*Charles A. Lindbergh. (For ten years member of Congress from Minnesota, now leader of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League.)*

The Draft Day Parade Suffrage Protest



Suffrage Pickets after Arrest for Obstructing Traffic Being Put in Police Car. The Almost Deserted Streets Are Here Shown

MRS. WILLIAM SPENCER MURRAY, of Annapolis, Maryland, writes feelingly in the *Maryland Suffrage News,* of the arrests of the suffrage pickets on the day of the parade of drafted men, which the President himself led in the National Capital on September 4. She describes the little dauntless army of pickets, leaving their national headquarters, to be arrested within a stone's throw of their own doors for carrying their suffrage colors.

"I WENT to the headquarters of the Woman's Party on Lafayette Square, through whose historic doorway so many brilliant men have passed, so many wonderful personalities, long since dust. I tried to remember their names; and it came to me that none of them would live in after times as would the quiet women whom I watched leaving that entrance to walk to Pennsylvania Avenue, where the police were waiting for them; that never since Revolutionary days had so stirring an appeal been made for human rights.

"I followed the first two pickets to Pennsylvania Avenue, where I crossed behind them with the intention of witnessing the proceedings. They took their stand at the East gate of the White House grounds, just two women carrying two banners, one with the inscription, *"Mr. President, how long must women be denied a voice in the government which is conscripting their sons?"* The other banner was merely the three suffrage colors—purple, white and gold. The two pickets, Miss Calnan of Massachusetts, and Miss Edith Ainge of New York, stood there about fifteen minutes. Then the police approached and told them that they would have to "keep moving" or be arrested. There was hardly anyone passing by at the time. The Avenue was roped off for the coming parade, and there was no "traffic," so-called, to obstruct. The pickets declined to move on, and the police automobile appeared instantly, into which the two were promptly assisted with their banners, and the first arrest was over.

"About fifteen minutes later Miss Lucy Branham, of Maryland, and Mrs. Pauline Adams, of Virginia, each carrying similar banners, were arrested in front of the President's reviewing stand, where they had marched to fill the vacancy left by the previous arrests. It will be long before I can forget the silhouette of their figures as they stood up in the police automobile, the sunlight flecking them with gold.

"The third detachment of pickets were allowed to cross the Avenue, but were arrested just as they reached the curb. The fourth detachment arrived as the crowd began to line the ropes very thickly. They were arrested in the middle of the Avenue on the trolley tracks. It was all over in about an hour, just one little group of women after another, facing prison for a belief, sacrificing themselves for a principle guaranteed to them under the Bill of Rights, sealed by the blood of the Revolution, and legalized under the Clayton Federal Act.

"To arrest the women in front of the White House gates was against the law. To do it in front of the reviewing stand was equally so. To do so in the middle of the street when they were 'moving on' was as ridiculous a sight as I have ever witnessed. If it was cause for arrest, then every banner-carrying man in any parade must face such a precedent. There was no crowd, therefore no traffic to obstruct.

"No photographic evidence is admitted at the trial in the police court. Such evidence was found too embarrassing to the authorities. At the time of the mob violence Miss Pierce went out with her camera and was knocked down by a policeman as she photographed the scenes.

"Are we women going on with our own lives, while our best and most unselfish are fighting out this battle for us? Will not those among us who can leave our responsibilities for awhile go to Washington to help the pickets, and let those among us who must remain behind do our utmost by raising money, writing to the papers to protest, telegraphing our representatives in Congress, getting up mass meetings, doing everything to arouse public indignation at this outrageous defiance of law by the Government in Washington against women who are merely doing what the Government allowed them to do from January to June?

"In Rome, long ago, it was not at all 'the thing' to live in Catacombs. Let us thank God today that the spirit that filled the Catacombs is not yet dead."

The women arrested and sentenced to sixty days in the workhouse were: Miss Lucy Burns, of New York; Mrs. Pauline Adams, of Norfolk, Virginia; Miss Margaret Fotheringham, of Buffalo; Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Lucy Branham and Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore; Miss Calnan, of Massachusetts; Miss Edith Ainge, of Jamestown, New York; Mrs. Dorothy Bartlett, of Putnam, Connecticut; Mrs. Annie Arniel, of Wilmington, Delaware; Miss M. Malone, of New York; Miss Mary Winsor, of Philadelphia; and Mrs. W. W. Chisholm, of Huntington, Pennsylvania.

Protest of Dudley Field Malone

(Concluded from Page 7)

But now I wish to leave these finished tasks, to return to my profesison of the law, and to give all my leisure time to fight as hard for the political freedom of women as I have always fought for your liberal leadership.

It seems a long seven years, Mr. President, since I first campaigned with you when you were running for Governor of New Jersey. In every circumstance throughout those years I have served you with the most respectful affection and unshadowed devotion. It is no small sacrifice now for me, as a member of your Administration, to sever our political relationship. But I think it is high time that men in this generation, at some cost to themselves, stood up to battle for the national enfranchisement of American women. So in order effectively to keep my promise made in the West, and more freely to go into this larger field of democratic effort, I hereby resign my office as Collector of the Port of New York, to take effect at once, or at your earliest convenience.

Yours respectfully,

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE.

Comments of the Press

From the Washington Front

SIX female prisoners of war are reported having been taken by the forces under command of Secretary Willie Gibbs MuchAdoo in a day attack near the White House grounds. After a violent struggle with several hundred office troops from the various Government buildings the half dozen surrendered.

Secretary MuchAdoo reports taking numerous banners.

Because of his gallantry the Secretary will receive a medal of the second class granted only to members of the royal family.—*New York Call, August 28, 1917.*

The Capital's Disgrace

THE abuse of the suffragist pickets in the city of Washington, Capital of the nation, has been a disgrace to the people of the United States. The full story of what happened there has not been told in the press dispatches. The letter of Miss Beulah Amidon, a Fargo girl, member of one of the most highly respected families in the city, reveals a shocking series of events that must bring a blush to the cheek of every American.

The question of whether the young women acted with right and with propriety in what they did does not enter into the question. If they showed banners that were of a vicious nature, seditious or dangerous to the peace of the community, the officers of the law should have been adequate to deal with them.

Instead the officers of the law seem to have entered into a conspiracy or by instructions permitted and countenanced brutal and lawless persecution and maltreatment of a group of high-minded and conscientious young women.

Men and boys acting in a mob seem to forget the ordinary instincts of manliness and decency. They commit acts that make it easily possible to believe stories of atrocities committed without reason in other lands which give a shock to one's confidence in humanity.

There is a beast in man which seems to be loosened by the contagion of lawlessness unhindered by those who ought to protect and defend the law. It leads to the beating of unoffending girls in a civilized city, to the massacre of helpless negroes in the heart of an American city and to unspeakable atrocities in the wake of an invading army.

Men in positions of responsibility to defend the law should take warning from such events. They should beware of causing forces of evil to be loosed.

The safety of society depends upon the equal protection of all against lawless violence. No right of person or property is safe when that form of insanity breaks loose.—*Fargo (N. D.) Courier-News, August 23, 1917.*

Even the President

WHAT the future has in store for the suffrage pickets not even the Delphic oracle could tell, but their fighting spirit has not been dulled in the slightest by the present crisis. They are "game" as ever. Perhaps public appreciation of the goal at which they are aiming will not be so sluggish in the future as it has been in the past, and perhaps even the President may find in the tenacious and gallant fight they are making a fit subject for his meditation, even in the stress of war times.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald, August 21, 1917.*

Now For Suffrage

NOW that the food, shipping, prohibition and other similar war problems have been taken care of for the immediate future, the hour has arrived for action on the suffrage issue. And, after all, the question of equal rights is quite as important as any of those already considered. Woman's work in Great Britain, when the nation was beset by foes within and without, brought immediate acknowledgment of her usefulness, and gave her the ballot. Her services for America have been no less notable. The country cannot afford, from the point of view of policy, if for no other motive, to longer delay granting her this fundamental right.

In the larger sense, the right or wrong of the question is not a matter for decision by the States. Women everywhere are affected equally. Besides, suffrage by vote of the individual commonwealths is slow and unsatisfactory, and by federal action alone can the reform be brought about with the dispatch necessary to right present wrongs. Congress will fall far short of its duty if it refuses longer to listen to the appeal of the sex.—*Evening Telegraph, Colorado Springs, August 2, 1917.*

A Suggestion for the President

WOULD not the appeal of President Wilson to the housewives of America come with greater force and inspiration were it coupled with the assurance that the Chief Executive would use his influence to hasten the acceptance of the principle of equal suffrage for men and women? England has been compelled to take that stand by the stress of the times.—*Los Angeles Times, August 26, 1917.*

Who Is Silly?

THE objection made to consideration of the Susan B. Anthony amendment by senators who expressed the fear that the White House pickets might claim credit for the action was as silly as the picketing. . . . . —*Minneapolis (Minn.) Daily News, August 4, 1917.*

The Outrageous Reminder

BUT for the ponderous inefficiency of the amateurs in Mr. Wilson's war administration, our soldiers and sailors might long ago have had a chance at a more gamey foe than the suffrage pickets. As it is, however, the fighting spirit must have its outlet, and no doubt it gains some strength and loyalty in attacking these women who so outrageously seek to remind President Wilson of his splendid promises of democracy.—*Boston Journal, August 16, 1917.*

The Real Offenders

MAY I call attention to the legend on one of the picket banners recently demolished in Washington, D. C., by an irresponsible mob of men and boys, which the police failed to control and which resulted in the unjust sentence of six pickets of the National Woman's Party, among them Miss Natalie Gray, of Colorado Springs?

The banner read: "A president is a duly elected representative. For 20,000,000 American women Wilson is NOT a president. A kaiser is an autocratic ruler. For 20,000,000 American women Wilson is a kaiser."

The arrest of our women was not on the charge of improper or illegal conduct, because that would not stand the test of the courts; the charge was obstructing traffic, which obstructing was due to the lawless crowd allowed by the police to attack and brutally maltreat women peacefully petitioning under the law for redress of grievances.

Citizens inciting the mob to violence were the real offenders and should have been prosecuted; the quiet little pickets were acting entirely within their legal rights.—*Caroline E. Spencer, Colorado Springs Gazette, August 23, 1917.*

White House Pickets in Good Company

"WOMEN were back of the recent Russian plot to restore the Czar." Of course. Women have never had credit for their work. Occasionally you hear about a Catherine of Russia defeating Charles the Twelfth by bribing Turkish generals with her jewels, or a Madame Roland boosting along the French revolution because she admired a young officer—and losing her head in the process. Our Molly Pitchers, Joan of Arcs, adventurous Queens of Sheba, and White House picketers get their little reading notices. But men never realize the fundamental fact that women do at least half of the thinking, three-quarters of the planning—and then push and nag and encourage the men until they get at it and do it.

Read "Ferrero's History of Rome" carefully to get an idea of the part played by women in history.—*Washington (D. C.) Times, September 6, 1917.*

Treasurer's Report

List of Contributions from August 11 Through September 6, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Miss Gertrude Crocker	$ 10.00
Miss Aline E. Solomons	2.00
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Collections	30.44
Membership Fees	12.86
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 723.40
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	260,033.28
Total collected by National Headquarters through September 6, 1917	$260,756.68

Contributions made to Colorado Headquarters

A Friend	$ 5.00
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Dr. Margaret Long	55.00
Mrs. Charlotte Dinwiddie	35.00
Miss Alice Henkle	10.00
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Women are going to prison for their belief in suffrage. They are willing to endure discomfort and privation for suffrage. Will you help us to get this story of the present struggle across to the women of the nation?

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